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The Suffragist

OFFICIAL WEEKLY ORGAN OF
THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 1, 1917

Drawn by Nina E. Allender

Drafted to Fight for Democracy—The Girl He Left Behind Him

National Woman's Party

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Notes of the Week

The Diplomatic President

THE President's latest utterance on democracy is contained in the brief greeting sent to the radical National Council Assembly at Moscow, August 27, in which, for the people of these United States, he expresses "confidence in the ultimate triumph of the ideals of democracy and self-government, in the promotion of the common cause in which the two nations are unselfishly united."

To the women of the nation the bland patronage of the President of this so-called democracy to the courageous new republic, engaged, not only in a stand-up fight against "enemies within," but also in a fight to keep faith with the mass of the people is characteristic.

"The language of diplomacy is one of implied significance," comments one paper in praising the President's message. It may also be one of evasion. The diplomatic messages of the President to the women of the nation have been as significant and as evasive. Throughout the country even a press unfriendly to the claims of women at this time are voicing the prediction: President Wilson in the near future will be forced to be either more diplomatic or less so; and to show cause why he continues to block democracy at home.

Prussianism?

"IN time of war when patriotic feeling runs high among loyal Americans, abusive and insulting language directed against our government, its officers and its allies, obviously tends to a serious breach of the peace," warns the Mayor of New York in a blanket letter to pacifists, socialists, "friends of Irish Freedom" and all others who of late have seemed to forget that the world is at present being made safe for democracy.

New York, like San Francisco and Portland, has raised up its "Vigilantes" to patrol street meetings. Bryan has uttered an ultimatum on Americans who "abuse free speech." In short, those who dare to protest, like the six suffragists now in Occoquan workhouse, and the six out on bail, that "democracy begins at home" are likely to learn to the full just what "Prussianism" really means.

Administration Sops to Suffragists

THE President daily becomes more expert with cordial subterfuge as to the Federal suffrage amendment. Denying the substance, support of the suffrage amendment, that would release the women of this nation to the urgent activities of the time, the President at the same time shows an uncanny cleverness in handing out sops and good cheer to suffragists.

In a letter to Mrs. Norman deR. Whitehouse, of the New York State Suffrage Party, in regard to the Saratoga convention, the President hopes, with campaign warmth, that the convention will "lead to a very widespread interest in your campaign and that your efforts will be crowned with the most substantial and satisfactory success."

Two new administration appointments to hold the wavering support of women, increasingly doubtful of administration "democracy," are those of Miss Agnes Nestor, the well-known labor leader and officer of the Woman's Trade Union League, as a member of the Woman's Council of National Defense; and, as a member of Secretary Baker's board of control for labor standards in army clothing, of which a man is chairman, Mrs. Florence Kelley, nationally known in connection with her child labor and Consumer's League activities.

Educating the Chivlarous South

A SOUTHERN State, North Carolina, has appointed a woman, Miss Elizabeth Kelly, as head and organizer of the "moonlight school movement" to wipe out adult illiteracy in the South. Miss Kelly will devote her whole time to this work, working under the State Superintendent of Public Instruction.

During the last year in North Carolina alone, 994 schools for adults were maintained by volunteer teachers and 9,698 adults taught to read and write in a short time, and their lives thereby broadened and brightened. Needless to say the vast majority of the volunteers in this needed work who have made it a demonstrated success were women.

In the South, as in the North, the Government freely asks the aid and co-operation of women while frowning upon their national enfranchisement. With women sharing government responsibility the educational problem in the South would probably have been simplified and "volunteer" schools made unnecessary.

The Law and the Military

IS the military the law? This is the question that is being asked in every part of the country by citizens uneasy over the sight of police power usurped by soldiers and militiamen. Soldiers raid Socialist headquarters in Boston; soldiers and sailors without fear of arrest attack and steal from suffragists in Washington, D. C. The latest military interference, the arrest of Rowan, an alleged I. W. W. leader, and others, in Spokane is illuminating.

"You men are military prisoners, and are not detained under the civil law," said the arresting "Major." "An investigation of your cases will be begun, and if it is found you are wrongfully held, you will be released!" No charges were placed against the men. The President was said to be in touch with the Washington State situation. No interference with the usurpation of the courts by militiamen was made.

Big Business Will Learn

THE unrepresented women of this nation must needs accept advice from all sources. The President of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, notorious for its opposition to the organization of its thousands of women employes that they might have a voice as to the conditions under which they work, comes forward with a "back to the farm" plea to women.

"The discipline of the soldier teaches him to do willingly, unquestioningly, the things which are given him to do. Let us be good soldiers.

"A little more gearing up in the speed of both man and horse, a little less of daylight idleness and visiting . . . . a few more daylight hours and the women and children enlisted, and the results will be astounding." "Big business" men in this country have not yet had forced upon them the realizations as to women's work that made the passage of suffrage in England a necessity.

Nationality of Married Women

THE International Woman Suffrage Alliance is making an inquiry into the question of the nationality of married women. Laws regarding the position of women married to foreigners vary in the different nations, all, however, denying choice to the woman as to accepting the nationality of her husband.

The hardships arising from the war, which have resulted in so many women being treated as alien enemies in their own countries, have brought home to organized women the need of amending these laws. American women, through Mrs. MacKenzie Gordon and Mrs. Inez Milholland Boissevain, have twice made these attempts without success.

Since it is a question that must now be solved internationally, suffrage organizations must act together in the matter, as Miss Chrystal MacMillan, of the Suffrage Alliance, points out. American women have, however, been forced to realize that until the national suffrage amendment has enfranchised women they are helpless to change conditions in this country.

Woman Suffrage in Italy

THE central committee of the National Federation has presented an address to the Italian Parliament, in which the hope is expressed that, having recognized the value of women in intellectual, physical, and humane activity, and in view of the need for a thoroughly reconstituted society after the war, the Electoral Chamber will admit women of all classes and of all grades of education to the suffrage.

The claim for the extension of political rights to women, continues the address, arose at the end of the eighteenth century as a logical consequence of the proclamation of the rights of men.

It seems not unlikely that before the close of the present war our allies will have nationally enfranchised their women, from Great Britain and Italy to "darkest" Russia, leaving the youngest "democracy" alone with her eighteenth century point of view.

Arousing Kentucky

A BRILLIANT climax to this month's campaign in Kentucky came the night of August eighteenth, when Miss Doris Stevens addressed the huge mass meeting which closed the day's conference held there at the Seelbach Hotel.

Mrs. St. Clair Thompson, who has been organizing in Kentucky for three weeks, had charge of the meeting. She splendidly introduced the National Woman's Party to the enthusiastic audience which packed the hall to overflowing, by explaining fully the history of its fight for the enfranchisement of women by Federal amendment.

But woman suffrage as a war measure, why we picket and what is done to us when we picket, is what the people of Louisville had overcrowded the hall to hear. "Women are challenging with increasing fire the right of a government to throw their sons to death on foreign soil for democracy famous abroad, but discredited at home," was Miss Stevens' ringing statement that brought cheers from the audience. In the midst of the dramatic story of her own prison experience she was interrupted by a telegram with the news that six pickets had been sentenced to Occoquan for thirty days. "Does any one in this audience protest against this outrage?" cried Miss Stevens. Instantly dozens of people sprang to their feet. When Mr. E. G. Parrish had stated his protest, which was later sent to President Wilson, as one spectator reported, the entire audience rose to its feet in assent. Resolutions denouncing the government's policy of arresting women for picketing the White House and demanding the immediate passage of the Susan B. Anthony amendment as a war measure, were unanimously adopted, signed "Five Hundred Kentuckians," and sent to the President.

After the meeting scores of people lingered to discuss the situation, to send telegrams to the President, Congress and the imprisoned pickets. "I, with hundreds of Kentucky women, am much concerned over the unjust arrest of the splendid women who are so fearlessly standing for the cause of human freedom," wired Miss Emma Dolfinger. Fifty other such wires were sent to the White House that night. "We are terribly proud of you tonight. Your fight is the real fight for freedom," was wired to Occoquan.

An hour before the mass meeting of the Woman's Party at the hotel, Miss Stevens had been giving her message to a gathering of three hundred men and women garment workers on strike for a living wage. After a most enthusiastic meeting, during which resolutions protesting against the arresting of the pickets were adopted, the president, Mr. O. J. Strasover, telegraphed President Wilson: "Nine hundred amalgamated garment workers protest against the arresting of these women and urge that they be given the freedom guaranteed in the Constitution."

Kentucky members are delighted over the response in their State, and enthusiastic over the projected tour of Miss Younger through the State. A Kentucky branch of the Woman's Party was formed. Miss Edith Callahan was elected chairman, Miss Emma Dolfinger, vice-chairman, and the following committee was formed to initiate work in Kentucky: Mrs. A. B. Carrier, Louisville; Mrs. E. L. White, Maysville; Mrs. W. Edwin Glossop, legislative chairman; Mrs. Edwin D. Roberts, wife of the head of the Associated Charities of Louisville; Miss Cornelia Beach, prominent worker at Louisville Neighborhood House; Miss Mary Verhoeff, Mrs. Chas. F. Huhlein, Mrs. J. H. Lindenberger, Miss Edith Callahan, Miss Louise P. Jones, Miss Helen Norton, all of Louisville.

Convinced of the urgent need at the national headquarters for the active help of its friends throughout the country, Miss Callahan and Miss Beach immediately volunteered to go to Washington at once and do their bit for democracy at home. Miss Beach arrived here August 24, and on August 28, with nine others, marched to the White House gates to petition the Government for redress of grievances. She, with nine other women, received a sentence of thirty days at Occoquan workhouse for quoting the words of the President: "We cannot postpone justice any longer in these United States."

The Birthday of Inez Milholland

WHILE her comrades in Washington were bearing her banners with their insistent appeal to the gates of the White House that afternoon of August sixth, the people of Lewis village, in the Adirondacks, her family home for generations, were gathered to make the same insistent appeal and so pay tribute to the memory of Inez Milholland. We, here in the midst of the grim struggle were glad to fling out again those banners which we always associate with her.

"Forward out of error
Leave behind the night,
Forward out of darkness,
Forward into light,"

the banner with which she once so gloriously led us, and

"Greater love hath no man than this, that he lay down his life for his friends," which had led us again in that great tribute to her memory at the Capitol last December, and again as on every other picketing day the banner giving her last appeal "Mr. President, how long must women wait for liberty?"

In the mountain valley where her girlhood was spent, her neighbors and family also pledged themselves anew to carry on the fight for which she gave her life. Above the village churchyard, alone on a green forest plateau of the Adirondacks, with "Old Raven," "Hurricane Mountain" and "Mount Discovery," renamed "Mount Inez," rising just beyond, is the grave of Inez Milholland.

The services were not held at the grave but, as she would have wished, the town hall was thrown open and the whole village of Lewis and surrounding country packed itself into it to celebrate her birthday. It was clear from the opening prayer by Rev. Coates, the Episcopal rector, to the benediction of Father O'Leary that these devoted friends were not met to mourn, but to work on for the causes she had advanced.

JUDGE D. F. COHALAN, of the New York Supreme Court, who presided, urged all to help make her work bear results in the passing of the Susan B. Anthony amendment. "Since women are called upon to carry out the policies of the government, they must share in the forming of those policies," he declared. "Since women bear the burden of this war they must be fully empowered to assist in solving the problems of war."

Mr. Milholland had received many letters and messages from her nation-wide circle of friends and the reading of some of these was his address.

Mabel Vernon and Anne Martin paid the perfect tribute to Inez Milholland. They plunged right into our burning, immediate problem. "The name of Inez Milholland will always be written in the hearts and minds of women everywhere, who care enough for liberty to fight for it as she fought," said Miss Martin, as she explained the insistent demand of the National Woman's Party for Federal as contrasted with State action, and the responsibility of the President in delaying that action in Congress. "You can only truly revere her memory by working for what she fought for," said Miss Vernon, while giving the dramatic story of the picketing at Washington.

This birthday meeting in memory of Inez Milholland was hardly a memorial service. It was too full of life and fire and the assurance that she did live in the causes to which she gave herself. Significant of this were the resolutions unanimously adopted and sent to all administration leaders, calling upon the President to give effective support to the national suffrage amendment by adopting it as a war measure.

THE SUSAN B. ANTHONY AMENDMENT

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE—SEC. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

THE AMENDMENT IN THE SIXTY-FIFTH CONGRESS

Introduced

In the Senate, on April 4, 1917, by Senators Thompson, Owen, Jones and Shafroth.

In the House, on April 2, 1917, by Representatives Raker, Rankin, Mondell, Keating and Hayden.

Referred

In the Senate, to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

In the House, to the Judiciary Committee.

Present Status

In the Senate

Before the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

In the House

Before the Judiciary Committee.

HISTORY OF THE AMENDMENT

Drafted

In its present form, by Susan B. Anthony in 1875.

First Introduced

January 10, 1878, by Hon. A. A. Sargent, in the Senate.

Reported from Committee

In the Senate

1878, Adverse majority.
1879, Favorable minority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1892, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Adverse majority.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1916, Favorable majority.

In the House

1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.
1916, Without recommendation.

Voted Upon

In the Senate

January 25, 1887. Yeas 16, nays 34. Absent 26 (of whom 4 were announced as for and 2 against).

March 19, 1914. Yeas 35, nays 34, failing by 11 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

In the House

January 12, 1915. Yeas 174, nays 204, failing by 78 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

The Suffragist

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Why We Keep on Picketing

FOR nearly seventy years women have worked for enfranchisement. They have held enormous mass meetings in large cities, and have addressed tiny groups in the remoter towns; they have held innumerable street meetings and many great processions; they have rolled up huge petitions to Congress, aggregating millions of names; they have sent to the President deputation after deputation of women representing every walk of life. The question of woman suffrage is probably better known and more widely approved than any political question which Congress has acted favorably upon for the past five years. Last January a deputation of women waited upon President Wilson, urging him to stop the waste of energy and life that was being expended in the long struggle to establish democracy for women. His reply was that women must "concert public opinion" in favor of their freedom.

Since that date women have realized that they needed to make a more constant, direct, and public appeal to the President, as head of the government, for justice. Every day since January 10, 1917, through the cold of winter and the heat of summer, women have stood at the gates of the White House, holding in their hands their suffrage banners of purple, white, and gold.

For five months they were allowed to stand there in peace. But last month the District police began to arrest them for holding the same banners in the same place.

There is no law against holding a banner at the gate of the White House. The charge brought by the District police against the suffragists is the technical charge of "obstructing traffic."

Everyone who has followed the history of the suffrage activity at the Capital knows that this charge is brought by the police to compel women to withdraw from the White House their demand for suffrage. The fact is that the appeal of women for democracy at this time is highly embarrassing to the Government. Politicians are asking the people to sacrifice everything and everybody "for democracy;" and many men and women are ready to sacrifice everything for democracy; but they are not willing to permit the Government to spend the life-blood of the nation for democracy somewhere in Europe while that same Government refuses to assist the peaceful and orderly establishment of democracy in our own country.

Women are not asking the Government to do the impossible. Congress could easily pass the suffrage amendment if the President gave it his support. More than half the Senators and nearly half the House are already pledged to our amendment. Many Senators and Representatives oppose suffrage only because the President opposes it. If the President should declare for national suffrage he could undoubtedly influence enough votes to secure the passage of the amendment through Congress; and this victory for democracy could be accomplished without struggle or grief, without the loss of a single life, or any waste of national wealth.

But instead of assisting women to win freedom, the Government is trying to intimidate those who ask for freedom. Women are determined to go on asking for it, knowing well that the very effort of the Government to suppress them is carrying their message all the more clearly to the people of the United States.

Suffrage Pickets Appeal to a Higher Court for Justice

"I TELL you solemnly, ladies and gentlemen, we cannot postpone justice any longer in these United States."

Woodrow Wilson's pre-election speech of 1912.

"I DON'T wish to sit down and let any man take care of me without my having at least a voice in it; and if he doesn't listen to my advice, I am going to make it as unpleasant for him as I can."

Woodrow Wilson's "New Freedom."

POSTMASTER GENERAL BURLESON and Joseph P. Tumulty, Secretary to the President, saw a strange sight the other day while taking an afternoon drive. At least it would have been a strange sight in any other American city than the National Capital. They saw the democratic utterances of the President of the United States arrested on Pennsylvania avenue in front of the White House and bundled into a patrol wagon.

It is an awful thing in these war times to make the populace laugh at the inconsistencies of the President. And yet one is forced to laugh at the President on reading his pre-election speeches, his books of previous years, in the light of his present active opposition to the liberty of American women.

In the face of the fact that the Administration is now persecuting suffragists, sending them to a government workhouse, where they are treated as the subjects of Czar Nicholas were once treated, women are weekly coming forward, recruited from many States, to stand with their banners and tri-colors in front of the White House as a protest against the attitude of the Administration on national suffrage.

THIS week six more women, carrying banners lettered with the above sentences, took their places on the picket line. They came from many States. They are Mrs. Pauline Adams, of Norfolk, Virginia, who is a member of the distinguished Adams family of Virginia; Mrs. Gertrude Hunter, of Minneapolis, an attorney; Mrs. Clara Fuller, of Little Falls, Minnesota, an editor; Miss Margaret Fotheringham, a domestic science teacher of Buffalo; Mrs. Kate Boeckh, an English suffragist, and Mrs. Henry L. Lockwood, of Clarendon, Virginia.

With two banners of yellow bearing the above utterances of the President, and four purple, white and gold suffrage flags, the little group took up its station at the lower gate of the White House at half past four in the afternoon. Home-going clerks and working men, the President's secretary and the Postmaster General, and a few hesitating police officers, watched the little group. The sidewalk was left clear for the women holding high their bright flags.

For ten full minutes the police hesitated. They read the banners. The crowd read the banners. Men laughed. The joke hardly seemed on these women holding their petitioning flags and looking fearlessly over the heads of the crowd.

But orders are orders. The police had had theirs. They telephoned for a patrol wagon, and the President's out-of-date utterances smacking of campaign promises, were unceremoniously stowed away in the police van with the banner-bearers. They were not even produced in court. The judge would not allow them to be seen. They were said to have "nothing to do with the case"—those old promises and exhortations.

DIRECT and simple in the extreme were the appeals made by these women for the right to fight for democracy when they appeared before Police Magistrate Pugh in the District Police Court. Speaking as a business woman, the statement of Mrs. Clara Kinsley Fuller, of Minnesota, the editor of a daily paper, voiced the feeling of thousands of women in this country today:

"I am the editor, owner and publisher of a daily and weekly newspaper in Minnesota," said Mrs. Fuller. "I pay taxes to this government, yet I have nothing to say in the making of those laws which control me, either as an individual or as a business woman. Taxation without representation is undemocratic. For that reason I came to Washington to help the federal amendment fight. When I learned that President Wilson said that picketing was perfectly legal I went on the picket line to do my bit toward making democracy safe at home, while our men are abroad making democracy safe for the world.

"It cannot be said, as of so many women, that any man casts my ballot for me. I stand entirely unrepresented at the polls, and for this reason I enlisted in suffrage work, that our women, who are amenable to the same laws as men, should have some voice in the making of those laws. I have found in my business that one of the greatest handicaps I meet with is the fact that I cannot cast a ballot for myself."

Miss Margaret Frotheringham, a young school teacher, in a touching plea, said: "I have fifteen British cousins who are in the fighting line abroad. Some are back very badly wounded, and others are still in France. I have two brothers who are to be in our fighting line. They were not drafted; they enlisted. I am made of the same stuff that those boys are made of; and, whether it is abroad or at home, we are fighting for the same thing. We are fighting for the thing we hold nearest our hearts—for democracy."

TO words like these, that seemed to come straight from the hearts of the women of this nation, an administration judge, in a gratuitous lecture, could only verbosely declare that the President who has for four years opposed federal suffrage was "not the one to petition for justice;" that the people of the District virtuously refrained from picketing the White House for the vote for themselves "for fear the military would take possession of the streets."

Here is a sample of Judge Pugh's logic: "These ladies have been told repeatedly that this law was ample to *prevent picketing in front of the White House, or anywhere else on the sidewalks of the District of Columbia;* that it was *not the fashion to petition Congress in that way,* to stand in front of the White House, the President's Mansion, to petition somebody else, a mile and a half away. *The President does not have to be petitioned.* It is the Congress of the United States that has to be petitioned. . . . . You ladies observe all the laws that give you benefits, property rights that legislatures composed of men have passed. . . . . and those that are aimed at preserving the peace and good order of the community you do not propose to observe," and much more to the same effect, which proved that Justice Pugh knew nothing of the long vigil of the pickets at the doors of Congress, and apparently nothing of the President's actual dictatorship of the present time.

Finally he admitted that he did not care to send "ladies of standing" to jail, and would refrain if they promised to stop picketing. In the face of the dead silence that followed, he pronounced sentence: A fine of twenty-five dollars or thirty days at Occoquan workhouse. Every woman refused to pay the fine.

ATTORNEY MATTHEW O'BRIEN represented the women in the District court, appealing finally from the judgment of the court.

Mr. O'Brien's bill of exceptions was presented to Judge Pugh for his signature, and afterward heard by Justice Robb, of the Court of Appeals, in Falmouth, Massachusetts, and a writ of error asked.

There are three members of the District Court of Appeals, the nearest one to Washington at the present time being Justice Robb of Massachusetts. The writ of error may be passed upon by any one of the three justices, who has it entirely within his discretion whether to grant or deny it.

Mr. O'Brien was successful in having the writ granted, which will probably bring the case to the consideration of the Court of Appeals next January, in the Capital, when it will be reviewed by the three justices.

Procedure in the District of Columbia is quite unlike that of any other jurisdiction in the country. The police court of the District is the only justice court in the United States with final jurisdiction. Out of this court there is no absolute right of appeal. This rests entirely within the discretion of the appellate judge to grant or deny. The history of procedure in the District shows that thirty-five thousand cases, approximately, are tried annually in the police courts of the District of Columbia. Only sixty-eight appeals have been granted in the last twenty-five years. These facts show the difficulty of securing even approximate justice in misdemeanor suits tried in the District of Columbia.

An Administration Prison

QUESTION

Major Pullman, Police Chief, and Mrs. Abby Scott Baker. What is the Major Laughing At?

"IF any more of you come down here, you won't get such good treatment!" This was the threat made by Superintendent Whittaker of Occoquan workhouse, an administration appointee, to the suffrage pickets who left that institution, pardoned by the President.

And Superintendent Whittaker, backed by the Administration, has kept his word. Peculiarly helpless because of their isolation, because as suffrage prisoners they are kept almost absolutely incommunicado, not allowed to see friends or any but the nearest relatives, or even communicate with them, Superintendent Whittaker has been able to take advantage of his position to the utmost in acting as petty tyrant.

There is no such thing as a "political" prisoner in the United States. Women sent illegally to the Government workhouse, their sole crime petitioning the President of the United States for liberty with banners, are treated exactly as other prisoners,—habitual drunkards, prostitutes and petty thieves,—are treated, except for a few decencies which they demanded.

In no way wishing to claim special privileges, these women did demand a few necessities and after protest to outside authority, were given such things as separate drinking cups, clean toilet facilities, and baths. They asked for daily baths; they were allowed three showers a week. They were also allowed to eat at a separate table with their own utensils, and sleep in a separate dormitory from negro prisoners.

Privileges begin and end with these conceded points. The petty persecution that this Administration has stooped to use toward American women has shocked the few congressmen and attorneys who have forced their way into the workhouse to see the suffrage prisoners, who have now been confined in Occoquan nearly two weeks.

Superintendent Whittaker, during these weeks, has kept up a campaign of publicity as to privileges and food conceded suffrage prisoners that is far from veracious. No newspaper correspondents are allowed to see the prisoners. One woman correspondent who was allowed to see them from a distance, was outspoken in her protest and was thereafter denied access to the institution.

RELATIVES are allowed to see the prisoners twice a month; but since most of the women came from remote States to register their protest on the picket line, they are absolutely alone at Occoquan. Even mail is denied them. All incoming and outgoing mail is censored by Superintendent Whittaker, as are all telegrams; and anything he sees fit to withhold, does not reach the suffragist prisoners. He openly boasts of the mail he is holding up to those who have attempted to see the prisoners. "I'm boss down here," is the way Superintendent Whittaker puts it. "I consider the letters and telegrams these prisoners get are treasonable; they can't have them."

But these petty tyranies,—losing touch with friends and relatives (they are allowed to write one letter a month); being denied common decencies, are small beside the gravest hardship that the Government is putting upon these women who have committed the error of demanding enfranchisement for women. They are slowly and systematically being starved. Spoiled and uneatable meat; tasteless and half-cooked vegetables; wormy bread; unnourishing soup, have been served these women with the other unfortunates in this "model prison." Absolutely unable to eat the food, they registered a protest and were each thereafter allowed a glass of milk at each meal. The milk was found to be skim milk. Neither butter nor sugar is served any prisoner. Where the vegetables raised on this prison farm, where the butter and eggs produced there go, is an unanswerable Administration riddle.

Because of the really serious condition of the suffrage prisoners, dizzy from lack of food, protests against the food conditions at Occoquan have at last this week begun to reach the world. Absolutely no food can be sent in from the outside.

Senator J. Hamilton Lewis, of Illinois, this week visited Occoquan to see his two constituents, Miss Ewing and Mrs. Watson, of Chicago. He was shocked at the appearance of the prisoners, and shocked at the statement they made to him. Giving a frank verdict against the institution, Senator Lewis later withdrew this statement, several hours after he left Occoquan. He is reported to have gone to the President with his protest after having in vain begged the women to allow their fines to be paid. From twenty-two year old Natalie Gray, of Colorado, to sixty-year old Lavinia Dock, of Pennsylvania, each woman refused to leave prison on any condition but an avowed intention on the part of the Administration to stand behind the federal suffrage amendment.

Navy Department Souvenirs

PAUL H. CONNERS, of Chicago, with a squad of fifteen sailors, had been detailed to patrol the White House grounds. They were performing their duties when the suffragists appeared. The bearer of the Kaiser banner was Mrs. Dexter Otey, of Richmond, Virginia.

Conners didn't hesitate. He rushed up to Mrs. Otey, snatched the banner from her grasp, and confiscated it. *The Navy Department later presented the banner to Conners as a souvenir of the occasion.* It has a background of yellow; the suffrage colors being purple, white and yellow.—*Chicago Tribune, August 19, 1917.*

ANSWER

Police and Plain Clothes Men Wresting Banner from a Suffragist

Comments

John Milholland Protests

IT is not a question whether one agrees or disagrees with the young ladies who are conducting this suffrage propaganda, which involves picketing the White House gates; that is outside the matter entirely. The issue is squarely, shall American women of the highest character and unselfish motives, in the exercise of their political activities, standing clearly within their constitutional rights, be insulted, knocked down, dragged through the streets, their clothing torn, their property taken from them, their homes invaded, at least one shot fired that might have had fatal effect by a mob whose ringleaders are sailors and soldiers of the United States, whose sworn duty is to maintain order and to defend American citizens from attack, whether home or abroad? That is the issue and the American people understand it fully.

A braver body of young American women never stood up for their convictions in the face of attacks so cowardly that you cannot parallel it on the American continent. This is no longer a question of suffragettes or suffragists, but of civilization and the ordinary decencies of life. The spectacle of gifted, cultured, and eminently patriotic American girls, whose only crime is their courage to stand up for the rights guaranteed them under the Constitution, dragged through the streets by a lot of crazy thugs in uniforms of United States soldiers and sailors is enough to make any American boil with indignation, unless he be a cowardly cur unfit for the society of sentient beings.—*John F. Milholland, New York.*

Patriotic Soldiers

THE arrest and conviction of Miss Catharine Flannagan, headquarters secretary of the Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association, for participating in the picketing at the White House arouses my indignation.

We are indeed in a sad state of affairs in this country when the Government uses its strong arm to protect disorderly mobs in their cowardly attacks upon American women who are still fighting, after fifty years, for a principle which was held to be a self evident truth nearly a century and a half ago, namely that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed.

The women with their banners bearing petitions to the President to pass the national suffrage amendment and protesting against the inconsistency of their own country for its fervor for democracy in Germany and its denial of it in America, are as patriotic soldiers as this country can produce. I trust that women, whether suffragists or not, will protest against this intolerable injustice and will wire President Wilson to keep the faith.—*Mrs. M. Toscan Bennett, Treasurer Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association.*

Government Hypocrisy

I ADMIRE Miss Flannagan very much for being willing to go to jail for her convictions. It is more than most people could even conceive of doing for an ideal. She is on her vacation and has a perfect right to spend it as she pleases. If she prefers to spend it working to make her own country safe for democracy, instead of going to the seashore or the mountains, it behooves those who are less public-spirited to try to comprehend her unselfish devotion. I should like to suggest to the men who think that the suffragists are wrong in demanding women's enfranchisement now to try to put themselves in our position. Suppose that the country had gone to war to "make the world safe for democracy" and millions of American men here at home were disfranchised. Would the men submit to such a ludicrous and intolerable position? I do not believe so. I believe that the protests which the women are making are conspicuous for their mildness compared with what the men would do in women's present position.

The pickets in Washington are a very healthy sign of women's self-respect and real belief in democracy.

If we have reached a point where we can't criticise the President we might just as well live in Germany. What the suffragists are trying to do is to point out to President Wilson the need of action and not words in regard to votes for women.

The hypocritical position of the Government in advocating democracy to Germany and denying to millions of American women the right to vote is simply being shown up by the pickets at Washington and if the Government does not like the exhibition it is simple to pass the amendment and dispose of the whole question.—*Mrs. Thomas N. Hepburn, President Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association.*

Placing Responsibility

IF we wish to make this country true to her democratic ideals, is it not our business to place the responsibility at the right door and ask action from the most powerful source of action—our chief executive? Could we believe that if men had been for fifty years asking by peaceful means for their freedom and had been tricked at every turn, that they would be content with legally petitioning the Government by displaying banners to show their resentment at the injustice? What does history show? And if men had resorted to more violent means to win their freedom, is it likely that we should have censured them, the victims of injustice?

Would we not rather have laid the blame squarely where it belonged and held to strict account those who by political subterfuge had denied them justice?—*Olive Mills Belches, President Framingham, Mass., Branch of Woman's Party.*

Democracy for Men

WHAT has become of the Yankee sense of humor? Was there ever so great a joke as the spectacle of the American government sending her sons 6,000 miles abroad to die for democracy, and on the same day, sending her daughters to jail for bearing a banner that asks for democracy? Crowning her sons with laurels and kicking her daughters for exactly the same things!

We are making ourselves the laughing stock of the world. Is it freedom that the men of America are to fight for? No—it is freedom for men and slavery for women.

And not only the American men refuse freedom to women, they create sentiment making it unseemly for women to try to free themselves.

So strong is this sentiment that no work at all has been done for suffrage since the war, except by the National Woman's Party. All other suffrage work has been diverted. Women are told to "mind their knitting," to "shut up till after the war."

We heard that story after the Civil War and we know its sequel. Fortunately for women, the National Woman's Party will not stop. Ever since the first arrest of the pickets in early July women have offered themselves in greater numbers, and subscriptions and donations have steadily increased. For every girl, beaten and jailed, ten others will take her place. When all the girls are gone the mothers will serve.

Don't grant suffrage or it would spoil the joke and end the funny picture, a woman, not fit to vote because she holds a colored banner on the street; and a crowd of male voters who snatch it from her, knock her down and thereby win for themselves the approbation of the powers that be.—*Mrs. Charles F. Amidon, Fargo, North Dakota, Member National Advisory Council of Woman's Party.*

The Administration's Wilful Neglect

ALL our human and material resources will be needed to carry this nation successfully through this war. The Administration has stated that millions of women will be needed to replace men in industry. The burden of sacrifice, of work, of taxation, of deprivation incurred by this nation in "making the world safe for democracy" will have to be borne by women deprived of democracy in their own land.

Woman suffrage is so closely connected with the war issues that only wilful neglect on the part of Congress or the Administration is keeping it from the program of "emergency war measures," and depriving the nation of resources and service which the women can give.—*Lucy P. Eastman, Southampton, L. I., Member Executive Committee, New York City Branch of Woman's Party.*

Comments of the Press

Senator Myers "Biggity" Words

AFTER all, what is it these "obstinate women want who have been arrested for picketing the White House? The same right of suffrage enjoyed by male citizens of twenty-one who have complied with the election laws. Is it surprising, in these strenuous war times, when the country is asking so much of our women, that they should expect to receive a consideration that is their due?

The picket is a mere incident, a fleabite so far as the cause itself is concerned. Adopt the Susan B. Anthony amendment to the Constitution and the sole incentive for maintaining a picket—which is for remembrance—vanishes.

Senator Myers uses big words in characterizing the irritating conduct of the silent sentinels. "Infamous," "outrageous," "scandalous," "insulting," "disgusting," "treasonable," are among the adjectives he employs in referring to the action of the suffragists. Of course, he goes too far, and only succeeds in making himself ridiculous. "An insult to the American people as well as to the President," the Montana Senator deems their "intolerable conduct."

But what about the United States Senate, of which Mr. Myers is a member? The suffrage resolution, as Senator Cummins has shown, was pigeonholded in committee for several months, although nearly every member was in favor of its passage. Why was it not reported? Because Senator Jones, of New Mexico, chairman of the committee, was peeved at the picket and in order to rebuke a scanty score of overzealous women was ready to work injustice to twenty millions of their sisters.

Senator Myers uses "biggity" language to express his indignation for the pickets, but his outburst on the floor of the Senate last Saturday, in demanding a law "for the better protection and enforcement of peace and order" in the District of Columbia, told nothing of the pettiness of his fellow-member from New Mexico. Why does Senator Myers get so excited over the tactless act of a few mistaken women while keeping as mum as a Tidewater oyster about the far greater crime perpetrated by his colleague? The picketing can be stopped if the Senate does its whole duty. Let Mr. Myers help to bring that about. Meanwhile, according to the President, the pickets are violating no law; it is not they who disturb the peace and order of the District of Columbia.—*Richmond (Va.) Journal, August 22, 1917.*

WHITE HOUSE
SHES BOTHERING US WHEN WE ARE BUSY MAKING THE WORLD SAFE FOR DEMOCRACY
LOOK WHAT HAPPENED WHEN YOU GOT JEANETTE RANKIN IN CONGRESS: SHE VOTED AGAINST WAR THE VERY FIRST THING, AND NOW SHE WANTS THE PEOPLE TO TAKE OVER THE MINES AND PAY REAL LIVING WAGES! THAT SHOWS THAT WOMAN'S PLACE IS IN THE HOME!
20,000,000 WOMEN HAVE NO VOTES IN GOVERNMENT
VOTES FOR WOMEN
VOTES FOR WOMEN
VOTES FOR WOMEN
RUSSIA IS FREE THE U.S. IS NOT
Ryan Walker

Ryan Walker in the New York Call

Making the Capital Safe for Democracy

Suffrage as a War Measure

CONSIDERATION of questions of fundamental justice cannot be wholly put aside by American men when their government is engrossed in emergencies of such tremendous consequence as the great war. It is largely this fact—that while the world must be made safe for democracy, democracy must also be assured to the world—that is driving the lawmakers, the press and the public to face more and more squarely each day the urgent necessity there is of granting the right of suffrage to American women.

To be sure, the adherents of the National Woman's Party claim that it is their White House pickets who have brought suffrage forth as a vital issue at this time. If not in sheer justice as a peace measure, then as a war measure, the Anthony amendment should be made effective at once.

Two months ago the Senate Committee on Suffrage unanimously authorized their chairman, Senator Andreius A. Jones, of New Mexico, to report the Susan B. Anthony amendment out of committee. Word comes from Washington that prominent members of the committee are daily besieging him now to put the amendment before the Senate. But he does not act.

Senator Jones is a Democrat, working out a narrow partisan plan, without regard to the fundamental justice of the Anthony amendment, or to the non-partisanship of its appeal. The Senator knows that when the amendment goes before the Senate it is practically assured now of passage; so he keeps it fast in committee. And the President, who claims that he is unopposed to suffrage, still fails to exert his all-powerful influence to bring the suffrage amendment out of Senator Jones' safekeeping.

It is fast coming to the point, however, as *The Public* states, where "if leaders in Congress do not want to become the laughing-stock of the world they will pocket their pride and put through the Susan B. Anthony amendment. And if the President would avail himself of this opportunity to do a wise as well as a just act, he will enlist his great force in behalf of the amendment."—*Colorado Springs Gazette, August 5, 1917.*

The President's Firm Hand

THERE is an echo of the President's phrase about the "firm hand of stern repression" in the arrest, conviction and jailing of the six suffragists; a touch of ruthlessness in their incarceration at Occoquan along with women of the street, pickpockets and other flotsam and jetsam. Still, the suffragists are not looking for sympathy, and it need not be wasted upon them.

The police have arrived at a policy, although no one knows whether it will be sufficiently stable and consistent to last out the week; the women have chosen their course, preferring jail to a tacit confession of guilt by paying the nominal fine imposed upon them; Washington is grateful that the disgraceful period of rioting and mob violence in front of the White House is at an end, and another crisis in the militant crusade to bring the Susan B. Anthony amendment before Congress has been reached.

What is the next step? No one knows. Picketing doubtless will continue, or an effort will be made to continue it; and militancy—if the police continue the arrests, instead of giving the women protection—will pass into a new phase. The suffragists, as well as the public at large, are thankful that the police department has finally determined to arrest the pickets, instead of allowing them to be mobbed by hoodlums.—*Washington (D. C.) Herald, August 19, 1917.*

Suffrage a War Measure

FROM the interesting debate in the Senate on the resolution of Senator Cummins that the committee on woman suffrage be discharged from further consideration of the subject, and that the Senate joint resolution be placed on the calendar, one gathers that the committee, as a whole, has strongly favored reporting the resolution, but, owing to the arbitrary action of Chairman Jones, of New Mexico, no action has been taken. His excuse, when cornered, is a curious one: That he was not certain how it would be received at this time; that it is not a war measure: ergo, what was the use of reporting it, favorably or unfavorably, if the present session of Congress did not propose to consider the resolution? Of course, his major premise is wrong. It is a war measure. Senators Jones (of Washington), Cummins, and Johnson, all members of the committee, are agreed to that effect. If it is not, then twenty millions of enthusiastic women who have been enlisted for service in the war have been badly deceived. They have been invited to work, to give up their sons, their husbands, their brothers, but, if Senator Jones, of New Mexico, is right, this resolution, which so vitally concerns them, is not pertinent to the war.

That he is egregiously mistaken admits of no argument. It is one of the first measures that ought to pass after the food bill is out of the way —not as a compliment to the brave women of America, now schooling themselves to all sorts of sacrifices for their country, but as a token of regard from their fellow-citizens, who enjoy what has been arbitrarily denied them.—*Richmond Evening Journal, August 7, 1917.*

"The New Freedom"

TO THE Editor of *The Sun*—SIR: We notice that in a recent editorial article you call attention to the omission from the biography of President Wilson in the Congressional Directory of *The New Freedom* in his list of books. You seem to think that he would not care at this moment to have the members of Congress read his assertion: "I don't want a smug lot of experts to sit down behind closed doors in Washington and play Providence to me" or to read: "I am one of those who absolutely reject the trustee theory of government," etc.

May we suggest that the President has not seemed to take so much pride in *The New Freedom* since it has proved to be the most powerful weapon against himself in the hands of the suffragists? The most picturesque language which the pickets of the White House have used on their banners has been the quotations from that book, so perhaps Mr. Wilson has retired it from public notice until the war is over and the women have won the suffrage.—*Ida Husted Harper, Editorial Chairman Leslie Suffrage Bureau, in New York Sun, August 17, 1917.*

Alice Duer Miller on Militancy

MILITANCY has, as usual, alienated a great many people from a cause in which they never believed.

We cannot help noticing that the politicians who most strongly oppose it are saying in effect: If women are militant we shall put them in the workhouse; if they are orderly we shall forget all about them.—*New York Tribune, August 11, 1917.*

The Suffrage "Problem"

IN the opinion of even such unyielding opponents as the New York *World*, the equal suffrage workers at Washington have gained the status of a pressing national problem. The little band representing the National Woman's Party has been abused and bruised by government clerks, soldiers and sailors until its effort to attract the President's attention has sunk into the consciousness of the whole nation. The New York *World* urges the Secretary of War to detail a detachment of troops to combat the suffragists. The demand for suffrage has become so insistent that armed force is necessary to quell it!

The *World*, great and powerful newspaper that it is, will some day be ashamed of recommending military suppression of the suffrage campaign.

In the meantime equal suffrage having been universally recognized as an ordinary measure of democracy, and the President himself having given his personal approval to the cause, the obvious method for meeting the "suffrage problem" is to deal with it by legislation. Bring the constitutional amendment into Congress and either pass the resolution or reject it. The question will be thus settled on the spot.

President Wilson has washed his hands of suffrage because, as he put it, the President should not initiate legislation of that character. But surely the time is past when the present President can pose as one who waits for congressional initiative. It is a fortunate thing for this country that Mr. Wilson has chosen to lead rather than to follow the meandering thoughts of Congress. In this instance his leadership is badly needed. Without it we may see something worse than clerk riots in the streets of the capital.—*Boston Journal, August 18, 1917.*

Embarrassing Questions

IF Representative Baer presents his "free speech" resolution in Congress, there will be merry times ahead in Washington, and embarrassing questions for the police department to answer.—*Washington (D. C.) Herald.*

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